



POLS 4540: Lobbying and Lobby Influence  
Tuesday & Thursdays 9:35-10:50

Fall 2024

Professor Scott H. Ainsworth

### **Office Hours**

W: 3:00-4:00

Contact me at [sainswor@uga.edu](mailto:sainswor@uga.edu) to make office appointments.

**Course Purpose:** This course introduces a broad scope of literature on lobbying in the United States. The course has two main goals. Our first goal is to become familiar with, discuss, and criticize theories about lobbying and lobbying influence. Our second goal is to understand the changing role of lobbying in the American political system. This course is also project oriented, which means that there will be considerable writing and some data collection and analysis. By the end of the semester, you should have a clear understanding of lobbying and the policymaking process in the federal government. Every student will also have produced a research paper exploring an aspect of the Washington, D.C. lobbying environment.

**Course Design:** This course includes discussions and lectures. To facilitate discussions and promote active learning, you will be assigned to 1 of several cohorts. An advantage of these cohorts is that you can get to know a smaller number of people reasonably well. Research projects will be oriented around these cohorts. Depending on the topics involved, we might alter the cohort memberships a bit.

**Grading:** This course is writing intensive. Assignments include short reaction pieces that tease apart theoretical arguments, assess empirical claims, or connect a newspaper article to material that we have read in class. Prompts for reaction pieces are placed throughout the syllabus. Additional prompts will be shared. For instance, I might ask you to analyze and critique a newspaper column, addressing how it relates to material that we have read for class. Reaction pieces are to be 1-2 pages long double spaced. One is due the last week in September, one is due the last week in October, and one is due the last week in November. Around the midpoint of the course, a longer, analytical essay is due. In that essay, you should explore 2-4 assigned papers (or chapters) in depth, noting how the authors structure their arguments, collect and organize their data, and present their findings. The structure of the authors' arguments as opposed to their findings per se are key. The analytical essay should be 4-5 pages long double spaced. Your term paper is your final assignment, which allows you to explore an issue in more depth. You will be expected to collect and analyze data for the term paper, which should be 5-7 pages long double

spaced. More info will be distributed. Consider sharing prompts, newspaper articles, and ideas and comments.

Reaction Pieces: 10% each for 30%  
Analytical Essay: 20%  
Term Paper: 40%  
Participation: 10%

To pass this course, all assignments must be completed and any other requirements must be met. All assignments will be individually assessed and graded. Late assignments are docked half grade a day. You may discuss the course or your work with me at any time. Formal grade appeals must be made in writing.

### **Additional Notes in no Particular Order**

- 1) Education requires that one fully engage challenging material. Come to class prepared and on time, ready to contribute to a thriving learning environment. This is your time to shine.
- 2) Much learning is cooperative and interactive in nature. Strive to participate. I will feel free to call on students.
- 3) All students are responsible for maintaining the highest standards of honesty and integrity in every phase of their academic careers. All course work must meet the standards established in the University of Georgia Academic Honesty Policy. You can access the policy at <https://ovpi.uga.edu/academic-honesty/academic-honesty-policy>. *Students are responsible for informing themselves about those standards before performing academic work.*
- 4) If you anticipate needing classroom or exam accommodations due to the impact of a disability or medical condition, you must register for services with the UGA Disability Resource Center (DRC). Students with registered disabilities will be accommodated according to university policy. If you have documentation for such accommodations from the DRC, please present it to me as soon as possible. For more information, visit <https://drc.uga.edu> or call the DRC at 706-542-8719.
- 5) Well-being Resources: UGA Well-being Resources promote student success by cultivating a culture that supports a more active, healthy, and engaged student community. Anyone needing assistance is encouraged to contact Student Care & Outreach (SCO) in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-8479 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu>. Student Care & Outreach helps students navigate difficult circumstances by connecting them with the most appropriate resources or services. They also administer the Embark@UGA program which supports students experiencing, or who have experienced, homelessness, foster care, or housing insecurity. UGA provides both clinical and non-clinical options to support student well-being and mental health, any time, any place. Whether on campus, or studying from home or abroad, UGA Well-being Resources are here to help.
  - Well-being Resources: <https://well-being.uga.edu>
  - Student Care and Outreach: <https://sco.uga.edu>
  - University Health Center: <https://healthcenter.uga.edu>
  - Counseling and Psychiatric Services: <https://caps.uga.edu> or CAPS 24/7 crisis support at 706-542-2273.
  - Health Promotion/ Fontaine Center: <https://healthpromotion.uga.edu>
  - Disability Resource Center and Testing Services: <https://drc.uga.edu> Additional information, including free digital well-being resources, can be accessed through the UGA app or by visiting <https://well-being.uga.edu>.

6) Artificial Intelligence-Based Software: Students are allowed to use generative AI software for academic work in this course, provided they document its use. This includes specifying the software used, the extent of its use, and how it contributed to the final product. AI-generated content must be cited appropriately, and students should include a brief reflection on how the AI tool helped them and what they learned from using it. The work must remain original, with AI not replacing critical thinking or personal effort. Instructors will evaluate both the content and the documentation of AI use, considering proper documentation in grading. Failure to document AI use may result in penalties, including reduced grades or academic disciplinary actions. Cases of suspected misuse will be reviewed by the academic integrity committee. (This paragraph was generated with the assistance of Microsoft Copilot).

### **A Couple of Final Notes:**

1) This course presumes that you are comfortable with basic introductory material related to political science and American politics. For a refresher, I recommend Kernell and Jacobson's *The Logic of American Politics*. Review the chapters on interests groups, elections, and public policy. Now is the time to employ the methods and technologies that you have learned in ECON, POLS 2000, POLS 4150, POLS 4070-1-2-3, STATS, and other related classes.

2) Learning is cooperative and interactive in nature. Dig deeply into the assigned materials and strive to participate in class.

**Primary Books:** We will read these two books in their entirety.

*Lobbying and Policymaking* by Godwin, Ainsworth, and Godwin (CQ Press ISBN-10:1604264691). Used copies are widely available.

*The Business of America is Lobbying: How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate* by Drutman (Oxford 2015; ISBN=978-0-19-021551-4). Used copies are rare.

\*\* Some of the most important reading assignments are available from the library – either on the shelves or through the electronic journal systems (e.g., EBSCO and JSTOR). \*\*

\*\* Some readings will be distributed on eLC as pdfs. \*\*

\*\* Please remember that a course syllabus is a general plan for the course, so deviations announced to the class might be necessary. \*\*

## **0. Introductions and Preliminaries**

### **Week 1: August 20-22**

#### **I. Factions, interest groups, pressure groups, organized interests, political interest groups (What are groups? Where do they come from and what do they do? What are interests? Where do they come from and what do they do?)**

Ainsworth. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups*, chapters 1 and 2. A pdf will be distributed.  
Madison's Federalist #10. Why is Madison relevant for a class on lobbying? What assumption does Madison use to build his argument? What are Madison's concerns about self-interest? What are his prescriptions?  
Latham, Earl. 1952. The Group Basis of Politics: Notes for a Theory. *American Political Science Review* 46:376-79. What is Latham's group basis? What are its implications?

GENERAL DISCUSSION: Truman is discussed at length in the Ainsworth chapters. Considering Latham and Truman, are we in groups or are groups in us? What is the basis for that question? According to Truman, what structures our interactions with groups?

### **Week 2: August 27-29**

#### **II. Collective Action Problems**

Ainsworth. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups*, chapter 2.

GENERAL DISCUSSION: Why do collective action problems exist? What are their implications for the types of groups that do form?

### **Week 3: September 3-5**

#### **III. Entrepreneurs and Their Interactions with Government Officials**

Ainsworth. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups*, chapter 3.  
Hansen, John Mark. 1987. Choosing Sides. *Studies in American Pol Development* 2:183-229. With whom do groups compete? What advantages do groups have over their competitors?

**No in-class meeting on 9/5.**

## Week 4: September 10-12

### IV. Historical Origins and Development of Groups and Lobbying

- Skocpol, Theda, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson. 2000. A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Volunteerism in the United States. *American Political Science Review* 94:527-546. How does Skocpol structure her work? What is meant by top down or bottom up arguments? Where else do they occur in political science debates? Where in Skocpol?
- Crowley, Jocelyn Elise Crowley, and Theda Skocpol. 2001. The Rush to Organize: Explaining Associational Formation in the United States, 1860s-1920s. *American Journal of Political Science* 45:813-829. What prompted the explosion in associational formations? How does the occurrence of grand, sweeping events affect the roles of collective action problems and entrepreneurs?

GENERAL DISCUSSION: What obstacles limit group formation and survival? What prompts the emergence of groups? How do political institutions gain legitimacy? How do groups gain legitimacy? Keep Latham and Truman in mind.

## Week 5: September 17-19

### V. The Lobbying Scene in Washington

#### 1) Types of Interests in Washington

- Godwin, Ainsworth, and Godwin. Chapters 1 and 2
- Salisbury. 1984. Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions. *American Political Science Review* 78:64-76. What is an institution? What is a group without members, per se? Why do institutions dominate and how do they dominate?
- Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender *Journal of Politics* 68:xxx. What are the implications of Strolovitch's central findings?
- Schlozman, Jones, You, Burch, Verba, and Brady. 2015. Organizations and the Democratic Representation of Interests: What Does It Mean When Those Organizations Have No Members? *Perspectives on Politics* 13:1017-1029.

GENERAL DISCUSSION: Which disparate interests are organized and how are interests communicated to government officials? That is, who's represented in DC? Explore the Center for Responsive Politics website and their Influence and Lobbying data in particular.

## Week 6: September 24-26

### 2) Business Structures and Representation

Hertel-Fernandez. 2018. *Politics at Work*, pp 1-42 and 203-228. A pdf will be distributed.

How does Hertel-Fernandez relate to Salisbury's work on institutions? Latham's work on the group basis of politics?

Drutman. chapters 1-4. Make sure you can understand the graphs throughout Drutman. Drutman relies on both data and interviews. Which do you find more reliable? Why?

GENERAL DISCUSSION: How do businesses mobilize interests? What trends in mobilization have we seen? Consider the OpenSecrets Influence and Lobbying data. What data structures would you need to create a credible argument about lobbying and lobby influence?

## Week 7: October 1-3

### 3) Business Structures and Business Strategies

Baron. 2006. *Business and Its Environment*, pp 170-175 and 203-217. Who's represented?

Who's over or under represented? What are nonmarket strategies? In what ways are they unique to businesses?

GENERAL DISCUSSION: How do theoretical arguments help us to explore data and empirical claims?

## Week 8: October 8-10

## VI. Lobbying and Congress

### 1) The Interplay of Structures and Strategies

Schlozman and Tierney. 1983. More of the Same: Washington Pressure Group Activity in a Decade of Change *Journal of Politics* 45:xx-xx. Is there simply more and more lobbying every decade? Why might older lobbyists envision an explosion? What do the data at OpenSecrets say about growth patterns? What congressional reforms were tied to the lobbying explosion? Congress scholars, do they remain relevant today?

Ainsworth. 1997. The Role of Legislators in the Determination of Interest Group Influence. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22: 517-533. What are transaction costs? Why would legislators or lobbyists worry about them? How are transaction costs minimized?

Hall and Deardorff. 2006. Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy. *American Political Science Review* 100:69-84. If you lobby allies, what sort of slippage could occur regarding your subsidy? With which legislators is the least slippage smallest? Could the lobbying of allies be due to an

equilibrium effect? Are lobbying signals cheaper with allies? More credible with allies? Explain.

### **Week 9: October 15-17**

#### 2) The Interplay between Information and Signaling

Ainsworth. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups*, chapter 6. A pdf will be distributed.

Anthony J. Nownes, 1999. Solicited Advice and Lobbyist Power, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24:113-124.

Drutman, chapters 5-7

Ainsworth. 2020. Hedging Bets: Lobbying as Insurance for Business in *Interest Group Politics*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. Ed.s Loomis and Nownes. Rowman Littlefield. Lanham MD. A pdf will be distributed.

GENERAL DISCUSSION: What are the roles for information in the D.C. lobbying environment? Recall Hansen's work. Can information be released in a strategic fashion?

### **Week 10: October 22-24**

#### 3) Lobbying and Revolving Doors

LaPira and Thomas. 2014. Revolving Door Lobbyists and Interest Representation. *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 3:4-29.

[https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Timothy\\_Lapira/publication/263222815\\_Revolving\\_door\\_lobbyists\\_and\\_interest\\_representation/links/545252c30cf2cf5164797e33/R/evolving-door-lobbyists-and-interest-representation.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Timothy_Lapira/publication/263222815_Revolving_door_lobbyists_and_interest_representation/links/545252c30cf2cf5164797e33/R/evolving-door-lobbyists-and-interest-representation.pdf)

Lazarus, McKay, and Herbel. 2016 Who Walks through the Revolving Door? *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 5:82-100.

McCrain. 2018. Revolving Door Lobbyists and the Value of Congressional Staff Connections. *Journal of Politics* xx:xx-xx.

Ainsworth, Gallagher, and Moss. 2019. Women at Work: Bias in Lobbying Firms and Issue Area. A pdf will be distributed. How are firm ideologies measured? Why do the authors distinguish between firm biases and issue area biases?

GENERAL DISCUSSION: How does influence "travel?" Which revolvers are best suited for lobbying? What do lobbyists do to enhance their influence?

## Week 11: October 29-31

### VII. Lobbying and the Policy Process

Godwin, Ainsworth, Godwin. *Lobbying and Policymaking*. Chapters 3-6

Godwin, Ainsworth, Godwin. *Lobbying and Policymaking*. Chapters 7-10

Gause and Lorenze. 2024. *Interest Groups & Advocacy* xx:xxx.

Drucker and Tankersley. 2019. How Big Corporations Won New Tax Breaks from the Trump Administration. *New York Times*, December 30.

DISCUSSION: How do lobbying and policymaking dovetail? At what stage in the policy process are interests least visible? What else is going on in the nation these days?

## Week 12: November 5-7

### VIII. Direct Lobbying before the Executive Branch

Yackee. and Yackee. 2006. "A Bias toward Business? Assessing Interest Group Influence on the Bureaucracy." *Journal of Politics* 68:128-139.

McKay and Yackee. 2007. "Interest Group Competition on Federal Agency Rules." *American Politics Research* 35:336-357.

Golden. 1998. "Interest Groups in the Rule-Making Process: Who Participates? Whose Voices Get Heard?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 2:245-270.

DISCUSSION: In the words of Marvin Gaye, what's going on? What just happened? Regarding the readings, who's represented? How are they represented? At what stage in the policy process are interests least visible? How varied are rules? What is a significant rule? Should all rules be combined for analysis? Why or why not? How can we reconcile Yackee's works and Golden's?

## Week 13: November 12-14

### IX. Lobbying, the Law, and the Judicial Branch

Zemans. 1983. Legal Mobilization: The Neglected Role of Law in the Political System. *American Political Science Review* 77:690-703. What does it mean to leverage the law? Can't everyone do that?

Rich. 2016. The Lawyer Who Became DuPont's Worst Nightmare. *New York Times Magazine*, January 6<sup>th</sup>. Suppose lobbyists worked on a contingency basis. How might they behave in Washington?

Caldeira, Gregory A., and John R. Wright. 1988. Organized Interests and Agenda-Setting in



the U. S. Supreme Court. *American Political Science Review* 82:1109-1128.  
Collins. 2007. Lobbyists before the U.S. Supreme Court: Investigating the Influence of Amicus Curiae Briefs. *Political Research Quarterly* 60:55–70.

DISCUSSION: Who is represented? Where? How? How do ideologies affect interpretations of issues and representation?

### **Week 14: November 19-21**

#### **X. Lobbying Regulation and Impact**

Ainsworth. 1996. The Logic and Rationale of Lobbying Regulations. *Congress and the Presidency* 23:1-13.

Bitonti and Hogan. 2021. Lobbying Regulation. A pdf will be distributed.

McKay. 2018. Fundraising for Favors. *Political Research Quarterly* 71:869-880.

GENERAL DISCUSSION: How do information and money interact? How does money affect representation?

### **Week 15: November 26**

#### **XI. Systemic Impact: Interest Groups and Public Policy Formulation**

Ainsworth, chapter 10. A pdf will be distributed.

Drutman, chapters 8-10

DISCUSSION: Do groups promote democracy or hinder it? Do groups promote economic efficiency or hinder it? Does lobbying promote democracy or hinder it? Does lobbying promote economic efficiency or hinder it? What should we expect in the future for new regulations and new group tactics? How does a crisis affect the lobbying and interest group communities?